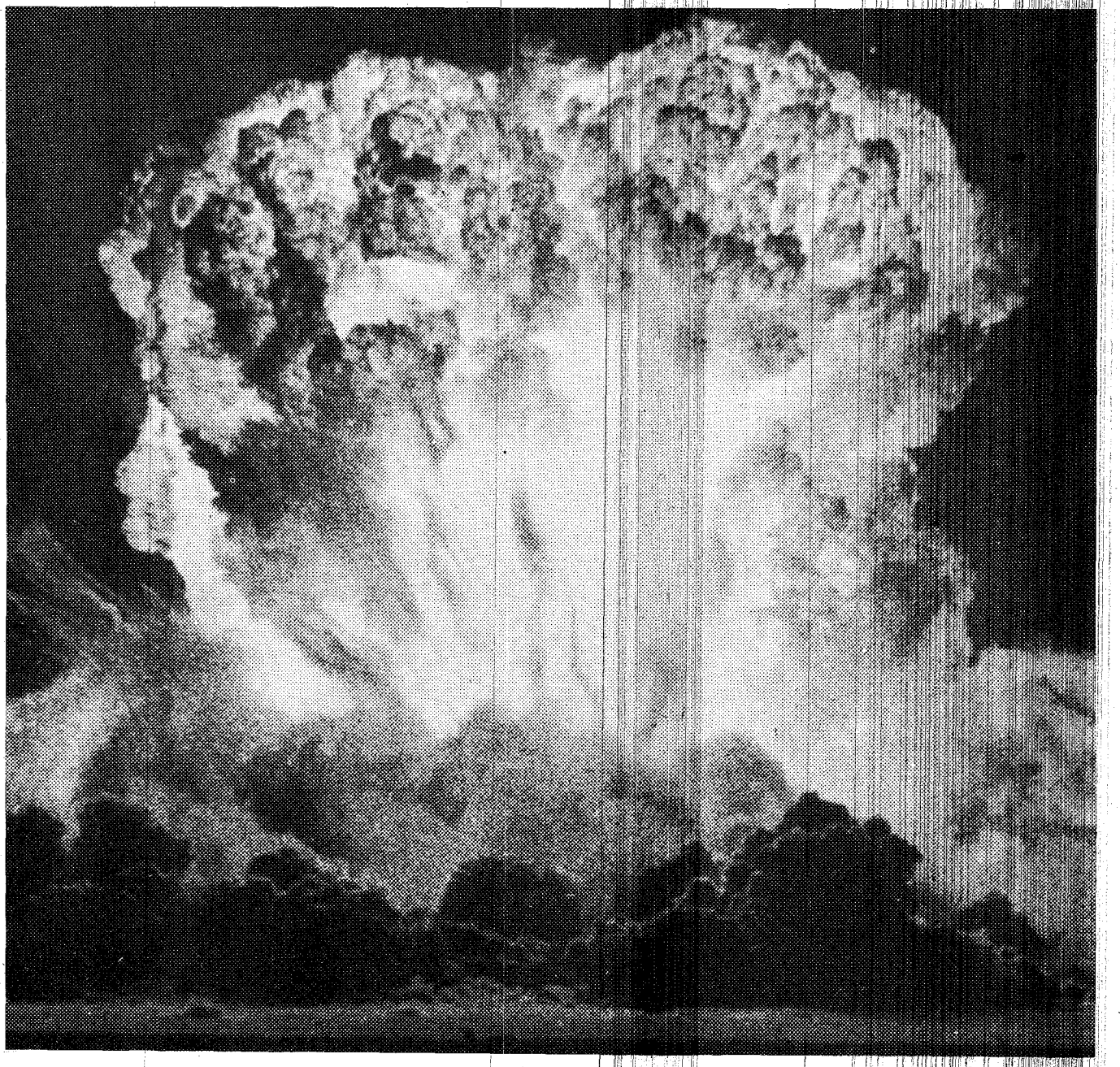
20c • SEPTEMBER 21, 1953

THE ARTS IN ENGLAND

New Republic



THE U.S.—OPEN TO ATTACK

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

When a nation has a vacationing President it is wise, perhaps, to look at its Vice-President. Richard Nixon has been busy recently. He met the President's airplane the other day to report on possibilities for the Supreme Court vacancy. He returned to Denver to canvass the choice of Secretary Martin Durkin's successor. He is here and everywhere. No one should underestimate our Dicky—or his ambitions.

The crucial point in the Durkin-Eisenhower talks on changes in the Taft-Hartley Act came when some opponent "leaked" the Durkin version to the press. It is particularly satisfying, we think, that a Big Business administration should pick the *Wall Street Journal* as the vehicle. The story appeared August 3. It is widely believed that the undercover maneuvers and the leak were engineered by Nixon, "always a strong T-H supporter," had volunteered "to throw his weight at Cabinet meetings on the side of Mr. Weeks against Mr. Durkin."

It is Nixon everywhere. The Los Angeles *Times* revealed that at the request of Rep. John Phillips (R, Cal.), spokesman for big Mexican-employing Imperial Valley planters, Nixon agreed to intervene with Attorney-General Herbert Brownell to "temper" the drive against wetbacks—the illegal Mexican immigrants who cut American wages by working for next to nothing. Nixon, you see, was made White House lieutenant for the absentee President, to the discomfiture of fellow-Californian Knowland. Mr. Knowland, the Senate majority leader, is another energetic young man with soaring ambitions. And, now that Adlai Stevenson is back home the GOP talks about sending Nixon round the world to cover approximately the same itinerary. As somebody put it this would be sending a boy to undo a man's job.

Durkin's resignation was a jolt for the Administration. Ike has unwisely allowed himself to be identified with big business. Now the millionaires have thrown out the plumber. What is happening to Ike may well turn out to be a tragedy to a national hero and a nice man. If Ike had been Taft, the 19 amendments to T-H, worked out by Durkin and the White House staff (supposedly with Ike's approval), might well have been adopted. Taft knew that T-H had to be ameliorated, he had the power in Congress to do it and the iron will to deal with the Sinclair Weeks type of businessman whose mind is as absorbent of new ideas as a shower bath curtain. Without Taft, Ike followed Weeks and Nixon, and the flirtation of 15 million trade unionists with the GOP seems about over.

Even the Chicago *Tribune* urged McCarthy last week to call off his silly accusations of subversion in connection with a US Army report on life in Soviet Siberia. The fact is Joe desperately needs new ideas. With Democrats out of power his attacks inevitably have to be against Republicans, the overseas libraries, the Government Printing Office, Allan Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency, and now the army. Joe doesn't mind breaking with Ike, he expects to, but the time hasn't come yet. Meanwhile he has been taking some bad buffets. Our estimate is that McCarthy's impetus is temporarily halted but he has not been knocked out. There is an equilibrium of forces pro and con McCarthyism. Our guess is that McCarthy will turn increasingly to jingo imperialism as a substitute for domestic red-baiting if he can't find enough of the latter, with increasing attacks on the UN. Perhaps his upcoming investigation of alleged subversives in the UN indicates the course.

It seems a strange thing that a Congressional committee should dump out into the public prints, without any particular effort at verification, and without any formal judgment of its own, the hearsay charges of ex-Communists that "600" US ministers are subversive. If a city council should dump its garbage truck on Main Street and say, "We are only exhibiting this noisome offal because we think it might be a good idea to consider the subject," the irresponsible act would be equivalent to dumping a truck load of rumors like this by a crew granted advance immunity. This is part of the Attack on Intellectualism. It is going on all over the country. It is the revolt of the yahoos against rationality. The teachers have had it, the diplomats, the liberals and now the ministers of the gospel. The pattern is standardized. If charges are proved correct, or partly correct, against one individual then all become suspect; find one Hiss in the lot and the Protestant clergy is condemned.

This yahoo process was exemplified at the recent American Legion convention. Without any roll-call, without discussion, by a standing vote it demanded an investigation of the American Civil Liberties Union. The attack brought immediate condemnation from conservative newspapers like the NY *Times* over the country. It was a repetition of last year's resolution and will probably be duplicated next year. The ACLU doesn't need any defense. But what is the process by which this Heil Hitler unanimity is achieved? The Legion passed another resolution—"we are unalterably opposed to Consumers' Union and to its publication, *Consumers Report*." Again unanimity. CU sells 200,000 copies each month analyzing advertising claims; it is a good deal like condemning *Readers Digest* because it is un-American in not printing any advertising at all. We have a vague notion, perhaps over-optimistic, that the fever of American anti-intellectualism is burning itself out. But let there be no doubt about it, the diagnosis is correct, the disease is the scourge of democracies, America has an authentic case of a deadly plague.

Notes: Ike will probably speak on the A-bomb next month over radio and TV; it's decided that public ignorance is doing more harm than good. . . . Ike may elevate Jackson or Burton to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; make Gov. Earl Warren (R, Cal.) a new associate justice; Burton is plodding but the court's only Republican, Jackson, is perhaps the ablest man on the court and a liberal on civil-rights issues but he's grown increasingly conservative, on economic and social problems.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Sparring Match Round 2

WHEN THE majority of UN members voted to send India to the Korean Political Conference, their action amounted to an invitation to Communist China to press for a wider conference. The Communists could hardly turn the invitation down. Accordingly Chou En-lai, in his message to the UN of September 13, calls for the inclusion of neutral nations, and above all of India.

The Communist Premier praises the Indian actions which he once denounced as "important contributions." He insists that Paragraph 60 of the Panmunjom Armistice Agreement did not state what it clearly stated—that the conference should be limited to the "governments concerned." He prepares the way, as he must, for a possible breakdown of the conference, by attributing the breakdown to the "US Government and the Syngman Rhee clique" a "premeditated design to wreck the conference."

And yet Chou's message is free of the hatred and arrogance which has characterized previous Chinese Communist statements to the UN. His case that the spokesmen for the UN should be picked jointly by the UN and its enemies is stated simply and without threats. He even recommends that Pakistan be invited although Pakistan voted with the United States. And while he holds that Communist China should participate in the General Assembly's discussions, this proposal is presented, not as a rigid demand but a polite suggestion, "in order that the question of the political conference may be settled smoothly and to set an example of settlement of disputes by peaceful negotiations."

Vishinsky of course will advance Chou's arguments in the General Assembly which convened on September 15. It seems probable that the Assembly will reject his arguments and sustain its right to choose its spokesman. That will not mean an end to negotiations for Chou's message was an exercise rather than an ultimatum. Russia has already accepted the UN's invitation to attend the conference on the hard terms in which it was framed. State Department officials believe the conference will open on schedule with the present sides.

Hard Choice for France

THE GERMAN PEOPLE and the US Government have forced an unwelcome decision on France.

France originally proposed the European Army to counter US demands for rearmament of Germany. Initially, the US suspected the plan as a French maneuver. Then we became its champions and France its staunchest opponent. French opposition came to center around two main arguments: (1) nationalism once again dominated German thinking, and (2) the cost, in money and lives of the Indo-China War prevented France from strengthening her economic and military position on the continent.

Now Germany has elected the "European" Adenauer, and the US has quickly followed up with a promise to carry almost the entire financial cost of the war. The way is open for France to reassert leadership in the European Movement; if she fails, a US swing to reliance on Germany seems inevitable.

It looks darling

Boss Eats Cap

SINCE March, 1953, Nikita Kruschev has headed the five-man secretariat of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Now he is named First Secretary. The change is simply a formalization of his status as party boss. But it suggests that despite the efforts to prevent individual distinctions that Lenin first began, and the present concept of collective leadership, the Soviet dictatorship must produce individual cores of power. *If I am to have responsibility I must have the authority, the rank, the recognition,* Kruschev may have argued. So he becomes *First* Secretary, making other men second, third, fourth and fifth.

Kruschev is presented as a Ukrainian, that is a member of an embittered and restless national minority within the Soviet Union. But he is no spokesman for the Ukraine. He is a "bad Ukrainian," one who surrendered to the great Russian doctrine which has subordinated all other racial groups in the Soviet Union to the Russians.

More important Kruschev is a Malenkov man. Technically he is not a member of the government (just as technically Malenkov is not a member of the Party Secretariat). In fact, for the present, he belongs to Malenkov's apparatus.

In his first speech since his promotion Kruschev outlined the new Soviet agricultural policies and blamed the fallen Beria for past attitudes of arrogance toward Soviet peasants. He was in fact denouncing himself, since in 1950, he was the spokesman for a policy of farm centralization, which was so ruthless and so unpopular that it had to be abandoned.

Soviet peasants have not forgotten this. To make Kruschev publicly eat his cap is a traditional Soviet procedure to demonstrate the disciples of the dictatorship and the unity of the men who direct it.

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Martin Durkin

THE PLUMBER has parted company with the nine millionaires.

Martin Durkin's resignation as Secretary of a Labor Department gutted by the economy program of a business orientated Administration had been long expected. He only needed a satisfactory issue. The President's refusal to accept the 19 amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act recommended by his own study committee provided the issue.

Vice-President Richard Nixon and Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks had urged Eisenhower to reject the proposals. So did Sen. Alexander Smith (R, N. J.) and Rep. Samuel K. McConnell Jr. (R, Pa.), Chairmen of the Senate and House Labor Committees. Two of the proposed changes would have liberalized the restrictions on secondary boycotts and eased the ban on closed shops in the building trade.

Durkin had hoped to offer the AFL encouraging words on Taft-Hartley revision at the Federation's forthcoming convention, September 21, in St. Louis. But Eisenhower's rejection of the proposals left him in an untenable position.

Durkin's relationship with his own Union, the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe-fitting Industry, AFL, was an important factor in his decision to resign. As union president he had been granted a leave of absence lasting up to four years. Last month, Acting President Peter Schoemann pulled the rug out from beneath the Labor Secretary with a strong denunciation of the Administration, charging that it was a puppet of big business. Durkin defended the Administration.

The international union was split. Sides were taken. At the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor convention, delegates sided with Schoemann. Numerous building trade councils endorsed Schoemann's stand. Martin Durkin had little choice but to leave his millionaires and once again become a union man.

Eisenhower could choose from several Republican labor leaders. Under-Secretary of Labor Lloyd Mashburn and Dick Gray, head of the AFL building trade, might qualify. However, Mashburn is a minor California labor figure and Gray might not be so willing to serve since Eisenhower has just killed his pet project, a closed shop for the building trade.

Influence Peddling

THE NON-PARTISAN character of influence peddling is now attested to by Mr. Warren L. Stephenson, who rode the Eisenhower campaign train and served as Executive Secretary of the GOP's inaugural festivities.

Mr. Stephenson told a House Armed Services Subcommittee that he had sought a four-percent commission from a California manufacturer interested in building rocket launchers for the Navy.

The GOP leader's troubles, however, did not stem from his rate of pay. Representation in obtaining government contracts is considered a perfectly legal business. What did bother the Congressman was that to bolster his salesmanship Mr. Stephenson was able to obtain secret data on the Navy's rocket-launching project. Where this came from is still undetermined. Mr. Stephenson maintains a Washington "tipster," Stanley L. Bishop, handed him the information on two sheets of paper. Mr. Bishop denied this under oath. Both the FBI and Naval Intelligence have been called to trace the information leak, and the House Committee is studying possible perjury charges.

Mr. Stephenson finally admitted he sought a four-percent deal from Century Engineers, Inc., Burbank, Calif., after previously denying it, when shown the transcript of his telephone conversation with company officials asking four-percent or a salary of $2,000 per month. Rep. Porter Hardy, not impressed by Mr. Stephenson's conversion, observed, "You are one of the biggest liars that I have ever listened to." Mr. Stephenson promptly offered to take a lie-detector test.

The investigation also touched on the activities of some other well-known Washington figures. Mr. Stephenson said he had first met Mr. Bishop in the office of Jon Jonkel, controversial publicist who directed the 1950 campaign of Sen. John M. Butler, (R, Md.), and who was later fined $5,000 for violating the Maryland Corrupt Practices Act. Mr. Jonkel denied any involvement in the four-percent deal but told the Committee he knew 40 to 50 people engaged in such business in Washington.

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Wuerzburg Goes to the Polls

ITS THE DAY after elections here in Germany and the people, finished with another round of perplexing politics, are back at work. An occupation—as any German will tell you—they are better adapted to. In Konrad Adenauer they have chosen not only a community elder—the second oldest of some two thousand Bundestag candidates—but a man who both in appearance and behavior resembles the stern taskmaster most Germans tend to think they need. Against the Chancellor's grim, patrician features, staring down at the voter wherever he went, bland moon-faced Erich Ollenhauer never had a chance. The Christian Democratic Party (CDU) posters didn't even bother mentioning the party program.

The excitement is over, but there never was very much of it. In Munich a newspaper complained that the last pre-election weekends went by without even one of the dozen vying parties offering a rally for the public's amusement.

In Wuerzburg, which is a medium-sized Bavarian city where I observed the last phase of the campaign, there were many vari-colored posters around the railroad station. But as one proceeded further into the center of town, past expensive cafes and delicatessen stores, past the ruins that are a fading reminder of the town's almost complete destruction in an RAF raid in 1945, there was little evidence of a struggle.

In Wuerzburg, as in many other old German cities, party lines are built into the social superstructure. The dominant political force here, before Hitler and since, has been the "Christian Party": an alliance between the church and the middle-class, which has successfully avoided an influx of industrial workers. Led by a young bishop who has created a stir all over Germany by protecting Catholic dominance in the area in a rather high-handed way, the clergy went all out for the CSU-CDU with lectures to children in the parochial schools, and last-minute warnings during mass.

Outwardly, especially on the more far-reaching questions, the CDU presented a fine face. Its candidates upheld European unity more convincingly than anybody else. Where the Social Democratic Party (SPD) was not above exploiting the Saar issue to augment its traditional working-class following, the CSU urged friendship with France. Furthermore CDU candidates condemned the Hitler regime and its heritage unequivocally, even if their declarations were received without applause from the people.

But the democracy preached on CDU platforms meant different things to different people. To the workers it meant doing the "Christian" thing, even though they had observed the bishop's social consciousness growing dimmer as he gained greater recognition in the conservative bishop's council. The middle class primarily was interested in coincidence between the church's and their views on the virtues of property-holding. Of the two, possibly conflicting basic points—Christian ethics and property—the former is by far the more resilient. Furthermore, many of the CDU's adherents will probably always be much clearer about the danger from the Left than about that from the Right.

The city official that I button-holed one evening as he was pasting up party posters was pretty much convinced that the SPD had links to Moscow, but when I asked about Dr. Werner Naumann's German Reich Party (DRP), he explained that that was one of the "quality" parties which included generals and many other significantly important people.

Of the Rightist parties, only the Free Democratic Party (FDP) waged an active campaign in the region, mainly because it hoped to attract Protestants angered by the Bishop's behavior. The former Luftwaffe general they sent to their last rally spent his time giving a geopolitical argument for German participation in the European Army. On the national level both the FDP and the German Party (DP) tried to dissociate themselves from Nazi ties even as they ran dozens of former Third Reich functionaries. But most of the men who could lend strength to a serious Nazi revival probably sat out yesterday's decision. The well-dressed man, whom I overheard in an expensive cafe briefly mentioning his years in jail while "they" were getting ready to try him as a major Nazi, seemed much more interested in the football results than in the elections.

The concern with sports is a substitute not only for the Third Reich's men of affairs, but also of the young people, the new voters, many of whom still shun politics as a meaningless and dangerous game. Their reluctance was lamented by my neighbor at an SPD rally where a mixed audience was treated to a bright young party economist's criticism of Economic Minister Erhard's claims and statistics. The approach was pragmatic and skeptical, much as it might be at a rally of liberal Democrats in the US. But the vital element—the ability to formulate fundamental aims—was missing, and the brief foreign-policy discussion did not go beyond listing the over-worked, catch-all slogans which Kurt Schumacher bequeathed to the party as a substitute for foreign policy. Unable to hammer out a new program, his subordinates have been content to echo the dead man's phrases.

The SPD also lagged in popular campaign technique. Where the CSU movie took its audience with Adenauer on his flight to America, the corresponding SPD production featured Ollenhauer addressing a party Congress. Such dull endeavors characterized the SPD campaign. While doing little to dispel the non-working class voter's basic distrust of their supposedly radical economic goals, they sought to sweep him into camp by talking about the Saar, attacking the Schuman Plan and the desirability of a Four Power conference.

Adenauer's ability to stand by the European Army, and to lift the larger political union up as a viable program seems a considerable achievement when one considers—as the SPD frequently made clear—that almost everybody in Europe outside of Germany is ready to bury the European Army. The threat to his conservative coalition and to its continuing along a constructive path is not only in his age, but also in the European idea he so deeply believes. No successor could hope to hold his following together if in the course of the next few years there is not considerable progress toward attaining the idea to which "the old man" tied himself.

FRANK TOLLMAN

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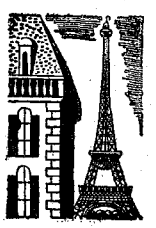
Paris Dispatch: THE ASIA-FIRSTERS HAVE WON

Western Europeans recognize that Asia in general and China in particular have now become the highest ranking of Cold War fronts. The Asia-Firsters have won—and not only in the US. In accepting the primacy of Asia the Europeans are facing the facts.

First of all there is the Korean imbroglio. If the differences between the US and its Western European allies on Asian policy are not narrowed, the United Nations may lose its essential character and role of a universal society of nations. That is how it is regarded in Europe. Hence, Asia is the key to whether the UN can continue to *exist,* so far as Europe is concerned.

Then there is the Russian hydrogen bomb and its implications—as seen over here. For the Americans, its existence seems to presage a new wave of isolationism. Much of the national interest, energy and money left over from fighting the almost hot war in Asia will be devoted to domestic defense of the US. For the Russians, the bomb may provide the breathing space of political stalemate with the US, that Georgi Malenkov's good-will offensive has failed to achieve. And this will be used for another kind of domestic defense—against discontent among the peoples of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Finally, there is the effect of the military stalemate in Korea—the first in US history—on US public opinion, especially the minorities that politically feed on irrationalist nationalism, and on policies of the Eisenhower Administration which, it is feared, both express and yield to irrationality. It seems over here that there is a tendency in the US to accept a dangerously false or at least oversimplified explanation: traitors and the stab in the back did it.



The issue in Asia is, therefore, basic and moralistic beyond the limits of ordinary politics. Senator McCarthy may be helped; Admiral Arthur Radford almost certainly will be helped.

Europeans now take for granted the assumption in GOP Washington that Communist China is a more imperialist, expansionist and aggressive power than post-Stalin Russia. With this view many experts in the well-informed British Foreign Office tend to agree—with some qualifications. At least they believe that Mao Tse-tung's China is rapidly becoming a more dynamically revolutionary power, and hence a more formidably dangerous opponent of the free world than Russia has become under Malenkov.

On the other hand, however, both the agents in the field and the evaluators in the Western European capitals disagree with Secretary Dulles about Communist China's probable intentions and potentials; and with Admiral Radford about how to understand and deal with them.

Most reports from inside China suggest that relations with Russia have cooled steadily since Marshal Stalin's death, indeed that Mao Tse-tung considers himself both independent and the Number-One man of world Communism. When the recent trade treaty was negotiated, it was not Mao but Chou En-lai who did the signing. Moreover the Chinese Ambassador to Moscow, Chang Wen-tien, has been absent from the Russian capital for many months.

The Soviet Union seems to be doing most to keep China satisfied, while in its own sphere China has more freedom of action than before. Certainly the terms of the loan of 5,000 million rubles favor China, who will get not only heavy machinery for industrialization but 5,000 technicians and managers to be replaced as soon as possible by as many Chinese trained in Russia.

One of the assumptions in Washington seems to be that Peking will drive ahead toward the transformation of southeast Asia into an area of Communist satellites, and hence that the war in Indo-China must continue, even if the French eventually abandon it. The best-informed Europeans believe that under the most propitious circumstances — which are scarcely in view—the Viet-Minh cannot be crushed by force of arms for many years, if at all. Moreover, the London *Times* says:

> It is certainly not now the aim of Peking to make Asia Communist, so much as nationalist, by the appeal for independence for foreign rule. As time has passed, it is Chinese security from the potential threat of Western strategic footholds in Asia rather than the freedom of the peoples concerned that has seemed more important. A China progressing toward industrialization is the picture which now obviously fires the imagination of its Communist leaders more than a southeast Asian bloc under Chinese leadership.

Whether or not this judgment is sound—or acceptable in Washington—it seems to Europeans that the worst possible mistake for Admiral Radford to make would be to embark on intervention through such ancients as Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek against the youthful masses of Communist China. The use by the British and French of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, Semenov and the others during the phase of the Russian revolution — equivalent to China's at present — did much to consolidate Communism in Russia, and therefore to make it a very strong world threat.

Another assumption in Washington seems to be that Communist China—in common with the ageless, eternal China—is ruled by old men, and in the tradition of ancestor worship. In the long run, this may be sound. In the short, however, the fact seems to be that Mao is following in the classical path of the modern totalitarians: all the stress is on youth. The New Democratic Youth League claims nine million members, of whom five million are rural and more than one million teachers or students. Thus about one in nine of all the Chinese between the ages of 14 and 25 are in Mao's ranks, and in the lower age group there are some seven million Young Vanguards. Moreover, the membership of the Communist Party itself, now six million, is being deliberately restricted to younger men and women, for the most part the under-40s.

If the Asia-Firsters must dominate in US policy, the Western Europeans hope that there will appear among them leaders who recognize that successful Cold War in China must be based on assumptions of fact rather than phantasy.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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Defending the U.S. Against

ATOMIC ATTACK

Big cities are inviting targets. Our civil-defense program is lagging. What government and citizens can do.

THE ARTICLES that follow in this issue of the *New Republic* are condensed from the current number of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists.* In turn they review and carry forward the analysis contained in the 10 volume report known as Project East River. The guest editor of the *Bulletin,* Dr. Ralph Lapp, calls this report the most important ever prepared on our nation's security.

Project East River (which was written at Columbia and takes its name from the river that flows past Manhattan) was the first major effort to combine the thinking of scientists and military leaders on the problems of national defense against atomic attack. It assumed years of continuing tensions and rapid development of atomic weapons. It estimated the casualties that might be inflicted by a single night attack launched without warning against the US, as we stand now. It concluded that 50 percent of the population within the city limits of each target area would be killed. Thus 100 bombs dropped on our hundred largest cities this year would result in a single night in 19,347,000 deaths.

The authors of Project East River did not speculate on the likelihood of such an attack. They simply assumed, as they had to, that it was a possibility. But in weighing the actions they recommend, the administration and the nation must consider what factors, if any, may lead the Soviet leaders, in their struggle for survival and conquest, to turn from a reliance on non-military pressures in Europe to military aggression against the US.

The threat of aggression is real; it lies less in the continuing conflict of Communism and democracy than in the tremendous bonus that modern weapons confer on the aggressor. Surprise attack opened the South Pacific to Japan and Korea to the Chinese Communists. It enabled Hitler to conquer France in 21 days. Now, atomic weapons multiply the impact of surprise a thousand fold. The most alarming aspect of Project East River is its admission that, given two powerful and hostile nations, atomic weapons confer a potentially decisive advantage to the one which strikes first, and without warning.

Harsh words may be spoken about the United States. Yet our critics, in and out of Russia, go to bed each night secure in the certainty that they will not read in the morning's paper that US bombers in a sudden night strike have laid waste Russia's cities, oil wells, coal mines and air fields, after weeks of secret planning by the President, the Joint Chiefs, and the leaders of Congress. Such an act is inconceivable, not because the military lack the weapons or the President lacks the authority, but because we are a free and religious people, bound to a democratic faith.

Is this true also of the Soviet dictatorship? It has the inducement, it will soon have the means, in a large stockpile of atom bombs, and a very heavy bombing force to launch a sudden strike against us. Are there in the Kremlin, as in America, inner prohibitions which rule out a sudden aggressive attack?

We look on war as an evil, which can be sanctioned only in terms of the greater evils involved in surrender. The Kremlin holds no such view. It does not, like the Nazis, worship war as the most ennobling of man's endeavors. But it teaches that pacifism is as putrid as Fascism is wicked.

Soviet leaders were always at great pains to disprove the views of Tolstoy and Gorki who opposed violence and war. Lenin condemned "ridiculous pacifism." Stalin, writing to Gorki in 1930, condemned fiction which "described the 'horrors' of war." The Bolsheviks, he declared, were not against "all war" but only against "imperialist war." They believed in "liberational anti-imperialist, revolutionary war despite the fact that such a war not only is not free from the horrors of blood letting, but even abounds in them."

Lenin further wrote:

> Above the interest of the individual perishing and suffering from war must stand the interests of the class. And if the war serves the interest of the proletariat—such a war is progressive irrespective of the victims and the sufferings it entails.

In the course of becoming a nation, the United States initiated more than one war to gain its political objectives. As a nation we have sought to avoid war, to find

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alternatives to war, and to create conditions which make war unnecessary. The few military leaders who have proposed that we initiate war against Russia have been punished, and their civilian counterparts have won no significant following. However deeply we desire to end the nightmare of Communist aggression, we cannot envisage starting world war as a means of gaining our end.

Again the Soviet position contrasts with ours. It flows from Lenin's endorsement of the old axiom of Clausewitz that "war is politics continued by other means." Lenin commented: "The Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for the meaning of every war." He further shared the Prussian militarist's conclusion that war is to be accepted as an instrument of policy. Accordingly Lenin wrote:

> If war is waged by the exploiting class with the object of strengthening its class rule, such a war is a criminal war. . . . If war is waged by the proletariat . . . with the object of strengthening and extending socialism, such a war is legitimate and holy.

To further clarify the conditions under which the proletariat can undertake war in pursuit of its objectives, Stalin developed the doctrine of Just and Unjust Wars. The *Short Course History of the CPSU* published in 1938 and now attributed to Stalin divides Just Wars into three categories:

> Wars waged to defend people from foreign attack.
>
> Wars waged to liberate people from capitalist slavery.
>
> Wars waged to liberate colonies and dependent peoples from the yoke of imperialism.

Of these the first refers to earlier Russian wars against the German knights, the Mongols, the Poles and Napoleon, and serve to identify Suvorov and Kutuzov with Zhukov and Bulganin, to equate patriotism and defense of the Soviet regime.

The third category has been cited more recently to defend and develop Communist-armed insurrections in the Philippines, Indo-China, Burma, the Malay States, Korea and Indonesia. In all these states, Communist action follows the Communist doctrine advanced and proven by Mao Tse-tung that in under-developed nations, war, carried out by armies, can be made the principal means by which the Communists gain political power.

The second category, of Just Wars, waged "to liberate people from capitalist slavery," was deleted from the *Brief Soviet Encyclopedia* of 1943, but fully restored in the 1948 edition. It sanctions any attack by the Red Army against the West. There was ample evidence, in the inspired and co-ordinated statements of European Communist leaders that their nations would welcome the Soviet armies to suggest that Soviet leaders were considering as late as 1950 a premeditated attack on Europe to liberate it "from capitalist slavery."

There is lastly, the issue of aggression itself. The free nations have tried for a century to outlaw war by two major endeavors, disarmament and the prohibition of aggression. The Third Hague Convention, the Covenant of the League, the Geneva Protocol, the Pacts of Locarno and Paris, record the efforts of Western nations to define and prohibit aggression, as a means of preventing war.

Communist doctrine on the contrary teaches that the distinction between aggression and defense is superficial and without significance. Radio Moscow in 1952 claimed as a major achievement of Lenin and Stalin that they had cast aside the "inaccurate division of wars into defensive and aggressive conflicts that existed at the time of Marx and Engels."

Soviet leaders certainly, in speeches and Army Day Orders, speak of *Defense* which they further define as defense of the borders *and the state interests* of the USSR. But this reference conforms to no doctrinal principle. Lenin praised "aggressive wars" by which he meant wars which advanced the cause of Communism. Soviet leaders spoke of the North Korean assault on South Korea as "defense" just as Stalin declared in Pravda on November 30, 1939: "It cannot be denied that it was not Germany that attacked France and Britain but France and Britain that attacked Germany, thus assuming responsibility for the present war." For the Soviet leaders aggression is a tactical problem, and "defense" is cited to confuse, not to clarify, thinking.

There is nothing in Soviet ideology to prohibit a sudden air strike; nor are there decisive inhibiting factors in Soviet military doctrine. Offensive strategy was defined as Marxist-Soviet strategy by Frunze as early as 1922. Edward Earle notes that Soviet military thinking was dominated always by an "almost idolatrous worship of the offensive." Soviet military leaders certainly were critical of Hitler's methods. But they criticized the unsupported *blitzkrieg,* rather than the *blitzkrieg* itself. To marshall weapons for a sudden decisive strike is very much in accordance with Soviet military strategy.

THERE ARE factors within Russia which serve to militate against aggression. They are the conservatism and caution of the Russian tradition; the concern, noted by Kennan, to risk none of the achievements of the revolution in adventurism; the lack of sufficient weapons *as of now;* above all the heritage of suffering that the Russian people endured in the Second World War. No Western nation has suffered as Russia suffered. The pacifism of the Russian people remains an important force, particularly in a long war in which the peoples assent becomes decisive for the Soviet regime.

These factors probably make aggression by the Kremlin almost inconceivable in the immediate future in four or five years, they may count for less. Five years is a minimum period for scientific research on defense to bear results. Three years is needed to set in motion civil and continental defense systems. In terms of the achievements of the 1953 Session of Congress, five years is a very short time.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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When the Yellow Alert Flashes

by Robert W. Stokley

Robert Stokley, an official of the Budget, expresses here his personal views. His article and those that follow are reprinted by permission from the September Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, *published by the University of Chicago Press and available for $1.*

FOR THOSE who doubt that there is a real *economic* limitation on civil-defense progress, I recommend a serious talk with representative state and city directors of civil defense. The District of Columbia, for example, (described by the Federal Civil Defense Administrator, Val Peterson, as "psychologically and strategically the most critical" of all targets in the country) had its civil-defense budget cut from $315,000 to $23,000 by the House of Representatives. Civil Defense Director John Fondahl promptly said that it would be better to close up shop entirely, and not delude District residents that they were getting any civil-defense protection. The District Commissioners agreed with this view, and announced that they would virtually close the office if the Senate did not restore the request. The Congress eventually approved $90,000 for the District's civil defense.

In Chicago, civil defense was put on a standby basis because of the feeling on the part of city officials that they could not afford an adequate civil-defense effort. In Colorado, civil defense for the ensuing fiscal year has been drastically cut, and narrowly escaped being completely eliminated. The over-all decline in budgetary support for civil defense is shown in the following table:

	Fiscal Year 1952	*Fiscal Year 1953*
	($ millions)	
Federal government	$ 99.6	$43.6
State and local governments	54.0	36.0
Total	$153.6	$79.6

Although appropriations for the fiscal year 1954 are not yet complete, preliminary figures indicate another steep decline. Of the first 29 state legislatures adopting general budgets, 24 reported reduction for civil defense. Support for civil defense appears to be declining as the hazard from enemy attack increases.

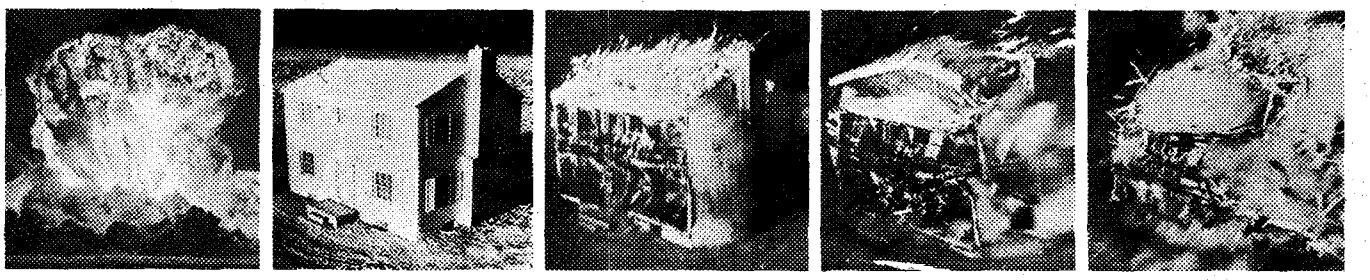
Looking the facts in the face, officials have tended to answer the question of a workable civil defense in three ways: First is the drastic but honest approach of those who would close up shop altogether, rather than maintain an operation which threatens to become merely a low-grade boondoggle. This approach has shock value. It may arrest further budget cuts. But by itself it will not provide a civil defense.

A second approach is to make more effective use of the very limited public resources which have been set aside for the civil-defense program. A total of approximately $90 million had been obligated by state and local governments for civil defense July 1, 1951, through June 30, 1953. Federal obligations for the same two-year period totalled $143 million. Federal appropriations have been spent primarily for stockpiles of medical and engineering supplies and equipment, and for matching of state and local purchases of equipment on a 50-50 basis.

Those who would make more effective use of existing funds point out that quite a good deal of money has thus been made available for civil defense on a nationwide basis. They believe we could buy more civil defense for this money in five major ways:

1. *Channel limited federal and state funds into high priority target areas.* Project East River suggested selection of 15 critical target areas, probably because there happens to be that many metropolitan areas with populations of a million or more. Obviously, it would be impossible to divert all of the state and local civil-defense funds to high priority areas. But it would be possible for federal stockpiles of medical and engineering supplies to be concentrated around a limited number of critical target areas. In addition federal matching funds could be made available on the basis of the number of people in specific target rather than distributed among the states on the basis of population. This specialization

CIVIL DEFENSE TEST: This Happened in 2⅓ Seconds



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by critical target areas can be attacked, of course, on two main grounds: (*a*) Any city of 50,000 or more may be a lucrative target for an atom bomb, and (*b*) Localities which are not prime targets may be important in the total civil-defense effort by providing fixed and mobile support to the stricken target areas.

2. Another suggestion for maximizing the use of limited appropriations for civil defense is to *concentrate effort on high priority programs.* For example, it is generally agreed that the attack warning system is of highest priority since it might prevent approximately half of the 11 million casualties [Editor's note: Project East River's estimate far exceeds this figure.] which FCDA is now predicting. No other program promises so much civil-defense protection per dollar of expenditure—the whole siren system will cost only about $12 million. Unfortunately, progress in installing the attack warning devices at state and local levels under the 50-50 matching program has been both slow and spotty. It was less than half financed at the end of fiscal year 1953.

3. A more fundamental approach to the problem of maximizing civil-defense preparedness within limited budgets, officials are coming to believe, is to *promote a much greater sense of individual responsibility.* When the bombs start falling, the problems of fire fighting, rescue, first aid, etc., will so greatly exceed the capacity of regularly established local services that it will be necessary for each individual, each family and each neighborhood group to react in the way best calculated to insure its own survival. Unfortunately, this concept of individual responsibility has achieved a limited response. It is agreed by most students of the problem that a great deal of progress can be made if citizens living in congested parts of the critical target areas can be told straightforwardly the extent of their danger and given a sensible program for individual action.

4. At the state and local level, civil-defense officials are relying upon the *cadre principle* of organizing auxiliary disaster relief services to supplement individual efforts. At the core of each civil-defense service is a nucleus of trained professionals, fire fighters, policemen, city engineers, doctors, nurses, and welfare workers. Such a *cadre* can be maintained at a minimum of additional expense, and will furnish a nucleus for expansion by volunteer forces in time of emergency.

5. A related principle for stretching the civil-defense dollar is the *"dual use principle"* of Project East River. Under this principle, peacetime equipment and facilities of state, local governments, and private industry would be tagged for a civil defense use, eliminating special construction and stockpiling for civil defense where possible.

In addition to measures to stretch the civil-defense dollar to obtain more of the traditional civil-defense services, is a move to supplement the World War II pattern of wartime disaster relief by an entirely new strategy of civil defense. The keynote of this new strategy is *prevention.* Its emphasis is on measures which hold the most promise for minimizing casualties and damage, in contrast to those measures best designed to effect speedy recovery and relief.

In terms of civil defense, the conclusion to this line of argument is quickly drawn that the only defense against the A-bomb is not to be there when it goes off. If, from a practical standpoint, we rule out decentralization of cities and construction of mass shelters, the only remaining means of saving between 10 and 40 million Americans may be through "tactical evacuation."

In Milwaukee, for example, tactical evacuation might work like this: The Air Defense Control Centers would flash Condition Yellow, indicating positive identification of hostile aircraft. Depending on the circumstances of the alert, as indicated by the ADCC's, the civil-defense director of Milwaukee might get on the radio and simply advise citizens in the downtown area that their best chance of survival would be to start walking toward the edge of town, but to be prepared to take whatever shelter might be available the moment the sirens indicated Condition Red (hostile attack imminent). Vehicles in Milwaukee would be grounded to prevent traffic snarls.

In other places, notably Boston, vehicles in motion would be directed to keep moving until they reached the edge of town. There, road blocks would be erected to prevent additional vehicles from coming into the danger areas. These techniques can be supplemented by having public transit systems loaded to capacity and run to the end of the line. Private cars in some cases can be stopped at intervals and loaded to capacity with pedestrians.

Regardless of the individual techniques (and proponents of tactical evacuation admit a lot of detailed traffic planning and testing is necessary), the operation becomes one of repeating and accentuating the morning and evening rush, with road blocks to eliminate cross traffic.

IF TACTICAL evacuation should become a central point of civil-defense strategy, officials must solve a whole series of new and challenging problems. Traffic control has already been mentioned, but even before this must come warning: at least an hour, and for larger cities even more. At the present time, officials cannot guarantee warning under all conditions of attack.

Other problems in tactical evacuation must also be carefully considered. A rush to the suburbs in the middle of a working day would interrupt production. Such an interruption was intolerable in Britain and Germany during World War II. Workers were therefore ordered to "stay at the lathe" until the last minute and then take shelter close at hand. However, the World War II comparison falters on the awful prospect that a single attack with modern nuclear weapons might cause more casualties than all of the Allied and German raids which occurred between 1939 and 1945. In such a situation, which assumes an attempted early knockout by the enemy, the loss of a few hours production time would be relatively unimportant.

Evacuation planning must be tailored to fit the special

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problems of each target city. Primarily, this is a traffic control problem. Some targets, it is admitted, are hardly capable of tactical evacuation even if Condition Yellow were to last for two or three hours, since people might leave one target area only to find themselves in another.

Another series of problems relate to the care of people whose homes may be destroyed behind them. Temporary housing and feeding may be required for millions of bombed-out Americans. Despite these arguments and objections there can be no argument that a person outside a target area is a person saved.

It will be seen from this quick survey of the major practical alternatives in civil-defense policy, that there is no single, simple, satisfactory answer to the threat of the A-bomb. However, no thinking person should expect a cheap and easy solution to a problem which may well be the definitive challenge of our civilization.

Strategy in civil defense is at the crossroads, with officials driven to improvisation by economic necessity and public apathy on the one hand, that old answer may no longer fit the new problems raised by modern weapons. This is necessarily a period of high frustration for those who regard civil defense as a serious problem. Equally, however, it is a time of high opportunity, since responsible Americans everywhere are eager for a solution to the dilemma, if one can be developed. So far, the civil-defense solution which appears to offer the most promise in the near term is tactical evacuation of prime target areas on the Yellow alert, since space is the only real defense against nuclear weapons.

Part Sword and Part Shield

. . . WHAT "EAST RIVER" did was to accept without question a national policy which renounces the initiative in any future aerial atomic war, and since our national position thus seems clearly to be utterly precarious, "East River" proposed that a defense, *sans* initiative, be constructed which will bring the overall civil-defense task back within manageable limits.

The Air Force . . . has based its program mainly on the three-pronged power and effect of its strategic air arm. First, on the deterrent effect of its capability to crush Soviet Russia's war-making potential and wreck the Soviet war economy; second, on the air-defense power of this arm to knock out the enemy's atomic delivery capability at its source; and, third, on the offensive power of this arm to deliver smashing blows against the existent enemy military forces and/or the supporting resources of such forces.

Such a program as this is obviously conceived as being part sword and part shield. But the program is only partially effective as a shield if we forfeit the initiative; and the sword also may be blunted if the enemy strikes its initial blow against our strategic air force. So, starting at another point in the stream of national policy decisions and actions, the Air Force concludes that somehow or other initiative must not be forfeited, since the results of such forfeiture can make it impossible to protect the country from enemy atomic attack. . . .

At the root of Project East River's urgent concern with the plight of the nation in face of Soviet atomic weapons is recognition of the fact that "historically, defensive counter-measures, including civil defense, have lagged behind the development of offensive weapons" (p. 10, *General Report*). As long as the effects of an enemy's offensive weapons could be absorbed without decisive result, then such a lag in the development of counter-measures was tolerable.

But since an atomic offensive in sufficient scale and scope can overwhelm any nation, and since Soviet Russia will in the near future years be capable of an atomic offensive of this scale and size, the sensible and compelling conclusion is that somehow the basic situation must be altered. . . . It was in this context that "East River" concluded (in respect to the lag of offensive weapons) that "this situation must be altered if this nation is to develop and maintain a strong and vital civil defense." This is the conclusion in the "East River" *General Report* which has caused the greatest uneasiness and misunderstanding in the Air Force and in the Defense Department. For this conclusion has been read by some of the most thoughtful military planners to mean that "East River" favored taking funds away from the development and equipping of the strategic air arm in order that "defensive counter-measures" could be developed to overcome the natural lead of the offense. If "East River" did mean this, then I think the conclusion is wrong, but if it meant that we should push hard the development of defensive counter-measures in addition to continued emphasis upon the development of our own capacity for atomic delivery then the conclusion seems to me to be eminently sound. Certainly it is right to conclude that civil defense will never be able to do its job if it is subject to being overwhelmed at the very outset by multiple disasters of great magnitude.

The development of defensive counter-measures then is surely a foundation stone, not only for civil defense, but also for a more flexible national policy. The more tolerance we have in our ability to absorb, then the greater the chance for achieving the conquest of Soviet Communist imperialism short of atomic war. . . .

RAMSAY D. POTTS JR.

As Special Assistant to Stuart Symington, Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, Mr. Potts was the government official most responsible for launching Project East River.

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Our Cities Need Not Be Doomed

by Henry Parkman

Henry Parkman is assistant director for nonmilitary defense in the Office of Defense Mobilization. Mr. Parkman served as Brigadier General on the Staff at Allied Headquarters during the war. He most recently served as chief of the ECA in France.

NO NATION is going to mount intercontinental attacks against this country just to drop bombs on Podunk. The initial costs of modern weapons, equipment and trained crews; the losses to attrition and interception; the risks of retaliatory action—all are too great for the prospective gain. Attacks to be profitable must be launched against big and valuable targets, targets whose destruction will seriously weaken our ability and will to resist and thus repay the attacker for the effort expended.

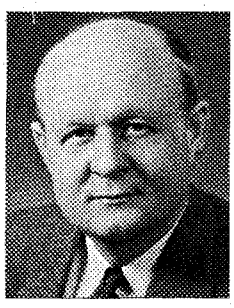
Such targets exist today. A quick glance at the 1950 census reveals that 40 percent of the nation's population and over 50 percent of those employed in manufacturing are concentrated in the 40 top metropolitan areas. Thirty percent of the population and 40 percent of the manufacturing employees are in the top 15. Big concentrations of manpower, vital industry and government within small areas make excellent targets for modern weapons of mass destruction.

Big cities contain such a complex of activities essential to the nation's life that they make especially inviting targets. A few high-yield bombs exploded over the centers of several of them can disrupt manufacturing, transportation, communications, government, business management, labor forces and most of the other elements of a smooth running economy.

Nonmilitary defense programs are concerned with reducing the degree of concentration in urban areas and keeping new concentrations of excessive density from

. . . Shelter . . . City Planning . . . Martial Law . . . Candor

The following questions and answers are part of an interview between Dr. Ralph Lapp, an atomic scientist and guest editor of the September Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, *and former Governor Val Peterson of Nebraska, Federal Civil Defense Administrator. It is published in full in the* Bulletin.



Val Peterson

LAPP: Governor, do you believe that the Russians have the capability now of launching a disastrous attack?

PETERSON: Yes. We believe that the Russians have the necessary airplanes and enough atomic bombs to make a very effective attack upon the United States right now. . . .

LAPP: Does the main threat of atomic attack focus upon an aerial blitz staged across the polar region?

PETERSON: Yes. Certainly.

LAPP: Would you expect an atomic blitz to center principally upon the industrial heartland (central and northeastern USA) or all metropolitan areas?

PETERSON: I think your answer to that depends upon the number of bombs that are available to the Russians at the time they decide to strike. . . . We think they have enough of them to drop at least one on every metropolitan industrial area in the US. I would be inclined to believe that they would attempt to attack all great metropolitan areas simultaneously. . . .

LAPP: . . . Is it the opinion of the FCDA that this tremendous blow would take place in one day or one night?

PETERSON: It is our feeling that the first attack could very easily be a sneak type of attack in tremendous force, and that it could occur within one 24-hour period, and that probably the Russians wouldn't be able to sustain another one that big for some time. . . .

Shelters

LAPP: . . . Have metropolitan populations been instructed what to do when they receive the Yellow alert?

PETERSON: . . . We have on the one side, the shelter idea, and on the other side, the early warning and evacuation idea. Now, you can't, as I see it today, say that either one or the other is absolutely the answer. Personally, I am not satisfied with just "duck and cover." However, I do not believe that we know enough today about the effects of an atomic explosion upon our great cities to justify urging the people of the United States and the government to go into a program that would cost billions of dollars if we were to attempt to get everybody under the ground. I don't think we know enough about it. I wouldn't want to urge anyone to go into a public shelter which might become a trap, because we haven't done enough adequate research on the entire problem. On the other hand, in the FCDA we are sold absolutely on the importance and desirability, yes, the absolute necessity, of family-type shelters. . . .

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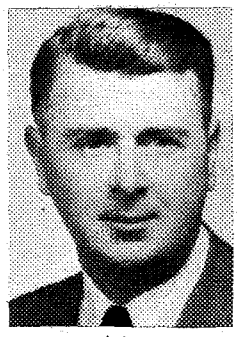
forming, increasing physical security and aiding actions and plans for quick recuperation; in short, with so distributing, protecting and organizing the country's operating capacity that it cannot be critically weakened by any attack or series of attacks an enemy is able to deliver. That is a twofold matter of (1) reducing the nation's susceptibility to damage; and (2) increasing its powers of recovery from any damage that it suffers.

Project East River has provided a series of valuable guides for accomplishing these purposes. For example, it is estimated that population densities averaging less than 8,000 persons per gross square mile—typical suburban developments of single family homes on moderate-sized lots—do not offer a high enough yield in death and destruction to attract enemy attack, and, with proper construction and spacing of buildings, will not provide the fuel for conflagrations or fire storms.

Furthermore, the findings of Project East River indicate that metropolitan areas can be developed at low over-all densities without loss in operating efficiency or social desirability. Contrary to much popular belief, the big city is not necessarily doomed by the advent of nuclear weapons. It will, however, have to assume a much more dispersed pattern of development than has been the rule in the past, but a pattern that is not far different from the one already evolving on the outskirts of major cities in response to the influence of automobile and motor truck.

It is admittedly a long and difficult undertaking to redevelop extensive existing high-density areas into areas where the over-all average is much lower, but cities are constantly undergoing change, and the problem is one of seeing that the changes lead in the desired direction. A new express highway or a playground replacing tene-



Ralph Lapp

LAPP: The big doubt then in your mind is what we call public shelters?

PETERSON: Yes, group or communal shelters. We are urging in factories and other important installations that protective facilities be constructed to take care of those people who will be remaining on the job, regardless of what happens. The thing we are concerned about is recommending these large public shelters to the tremendous populations of the big cities like New York. These will have to be foolproof if we are going to justify the expense.

Urban Targets

LAPP: . . . Project East River stressed reducing urban vulnerability. What is being done to implement these recommendations?

PETERSON: I would say that as of today very little is being done. There is some planning and some probing, but nothing effective is being done today.

LAPP: The problem of doing something about reducing the urban vulnerability of our staggeringly large metropolitan areas is an extremely tough one.

PETERSON: That's right. It is an extremely tough problem. But because it is tough does not mean that we mustn't be getting at it.

Now, some things that I have in mind are these: I *am talking personally now*—not for the Administration—but I do not believe that the federal government should make a loan through the RFC or through the FHA to anyone who is going to tear out some slums and turn around and build a great big public-housing project right in that same area. Rather than doing that, if we eliminate slum areas, we should make them into parks and build the new project out somewhere on the edge of the town.

Civil Control

LAPP: . . . Assuming an attack has occurred and many American cities have been hit, what do you conceive to be your operational authority?

PETERSON: . . . I envision my responsibility to be *that of a lieutenant, acting for the President.* . . .

LAPP: . . . Would martial law be declared?

PETERSON: . . . I am certain that it will be the desire of the President to keep the control and the operations under civilian authorities.

LAPP: Do you feel it will be necessary in your work to undertake conscription measures for civil-defense workers?

PETERSON: . . . I believe that you won't be able to do the job by conscription. I think that you will need that great outpouring of interest and enthusiasm and drive that has characterized Americans all down through the years when they face a great emergency.

Next Steps

LAPP: . . . Where do you expect the greatest progress in civil defense to come in the next year?

PETERSON: I believe it will come in the form of telling the people more and more about the problems which are to be faced and thereby getting them to share the responsibility of solving them. I believe, as a result, great progress will come in civil defense. When the government of the United States and interested civilians make it their business to give the people of the United States a clearer and more complete picture of the implications of the atomic age and the bombing of civilian populations and industrial concentrations, you can expect them to face up to the job ahead. I believe it is our responsibility to be more candid with them than we have in the past.

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ments can bring the average down. It is the average density within the lethal area of a bomb that counts, rather than the density within a given development or city block.

And if the problem of making the centers of big cities less vulnerable looks too forbidding, there are greener fields outside. It is just as important to prevent the formation of new target areas on the outskirts as it is to eliminate those at the center. Ours is a dynamic country. The population of the continental United States is growing at a rate of around two and a quarter million people annually, and three quarters of that growth is in the nation's metropolitan areas. If that new growth can be directed into nonvulnerable channels, the relative target value of the older vulnerable areas will decline proportionately. There may not be much over-all reduction the first year or the second or the third, but each year counts, and the cumulative improvement is a permanent gain.

Reduction of the vulnerability of American cities, and coincidentally of the nation that depends on them, is by no means an impossible task, nor is it necessarily costly. Basically, it is a task of seeing that city buildings and facilities that are going to be built anyway are so built and so located that they reduce urban vulnerability instead of increasing it. That is an oversimplification, of course, but it highlights the major objective of nonmilitary defense programs in that area, to help direct new development into proper channels rather than suggest tearing down and rearranging that which is already established.

The program of the Federal Civil Defense Administration is another example of effective nonmilitary defense. Its underlying purpose is to minimize the effects of enemy attack by providing warning and shelters and by organizing rescue, fire fighting, and rehabilitation. It is sometimes looked upon as only a disaster-relief operation, but its total impact on national defense is far more important than that. A well-organized national program can greatly lessen the damage that an enemy attack can do, by reducing casualties, healing the wounded, restoring buildings and services and, above all, keeping up morale.

While the reduction of urban vulnerability generally is the major objective of nonmilitary defense, in order to get the most defense in the shortest time, initial emphasis has been placed on the essential industrial and governmental installations in the large urban areas. A national industrial dispersion policy was announced in August, 1951, and is receiving steadily increasing support from all elements of industry and from urban areas conscious of their target potentialities. Eighty-six metropolitan areas, including the major cities, have instituted industrial dispersion studies in response to that policy, and 37 of them have developed approved plans which provide one of the criteria for tax amortization assistance to new plants.

Increased physical security is another means of reducing the scale of major damage. It has been estimated that the areas of total and major damage can be reduced as much as 32 percent by the application of such means as are within reasonable cost limitations.

Industrial facilities damaged by attack have a better chance of being restored to production if there has been prior planning and preparation for such a contingency. The problem may be of varying degrees of severity, from removing rubble and restoring machinery to operable condition, to shifting production from damaged to undamaged facilities or rebuilding entire plants.

It is a fair assumption that, whatever the damage may be, it will be overcome with greater dispatch and greater effectiveness if the problems have been faced in advance, industry by industry, and city by city. That work is under way.

Such preparedness, it should be noted, also has its deterrent value. Industrial targets that can be quickly revived after attack are much less valuable to the enemy than targets that can be knocked out for good. The industry that is well prepared for post-attack rehabilitation is a much less inviting target than the one that is not.

Super critical plants present a special problem, such as plants which produce 100 percent of the nation's production of some essential item and which, perhaps, are now located in the heart of a major target zone. Should production be relocated? Should it be dispersed among several scattered plants? Can the product be stockpiled? What are the comparative costs, and who is to pay for them? What assistance can the government give? Contrary to military programs, nonmilitary defense measures are carried out for the most part by the voluntary efforts of private citizens.

GOVERNMENTAL agencies can sound the warnings, set the standards, urge necessary action, but the actual defense measures rest with industrialists who decide the location of new plants and make or fail to make adequate plans for the post-attack restoration of production; with real-estate developers who observe or fail to observe adequate standards of construction and spacing in their building; with financial institutions which insist or fail to insist on sound practices among their borrowers—in fact, on all private entrepreneurs and managers who are responsible for the construction and reconstruction of urban areas or of essential manufacturing plants and their supporting facilities.

The government can, of course, influence such decisions. It can set a good example in the buildings which it erects or the facilities it helps to finance. It can refuse to insure mortgages on housing developments that increase the hazard to urban areas and can perhaps offer minor financial inducements to those that do not. It can withhold the privilege of rapid tax amortization from industrial plants that are not properly dispersed from target areas. In the aggregate these powers are substantial, but at best they are persuasive, not compulsory. The final decisions on whether this country shall increase or decrease its vulnerability to enemy attack rest with the citizens in their day-to-day activities.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

ENGLISH FICTION AT MID-CENTURY

by Elizabeth Bowen

IN GENERAL, something is expected of, or at, the turn of a century. A term of time by being demarcated acquires character, which, as such, makes itself evident as it matures. So a century halfway along its course may be considered due to declare maturity, to have reached culmination-point, to make seen the fruition of its inherent ideas. The twentieth century's development, however, has been in some directions so violently forced, in others so notably arrested as to seem hardly to be a development at all, or at least to be difficult to recognize if it is one. In European countries, certainly, life and art are still seeking their footing in their actual time—both have the stigmata of an over-long drawn-out adolescence.

The mid-century call for an exhibition may therefore be said to have taken us by surprise, and found us unready, in disarray. As to art, it is *not* that there is nothing to show; the difficulty is rather in presentation—arrangement, classification and rating order. Individually, no potential exhibit is not expressive: now, however, is each so to be placed as to bring out its relationship with the others? For the warrant for and point of an exhibition must be it soverall significance and expressiveness. In this case, one is tempted to ask, of what?

In England—if one may press the display analogy further—there would be particular difficulty in arranging the fiction stall. The novel, onward from 1914, has in different ways reflected the sense of flux. The cracking and splintering of the social mould during and after the first World War accounted for a shift, as to the subject, from outer to inner—from man as a public being, in public play, to man as a seat of isolated and in the main suffering private sensibility. For the greater part of the inter-war years, subjectivity hazed over the English novel; there was disposition to follow the stream of consciousness "from caverns measureless to man down to a sunless sea." With this went, it may now be felt, a misuse or perversion of some influences—the overheated for-or-against reaction to D. H. Lawrence, the attempted segregation of Henry James and Proust from their *beau monde*, of Tolstoi, Tchekov and Turgeniev from their thriving social-sensuous universe, of Thomas Hardy from his Wessex exuberance.

The intellectually respectable English novel for some time concentrated upon, insisted upon the victim-hero—whether at school, in love or at large in the jungle which by overgrowing the ruins of fixed society succeeded to what that used to be. There was almost a convention of disillusionment. The forte of the novelist was analysis. The alternative to the analytical was the caustic—the iconoclastic novel of ideas: for this, the still youth Aldous Huxley gave the prototype.

The English inter-war novel, it seems now, was somewhat "out" in its concept of what makes tragedy. It did not finally diagnose the modern uneasiness—dislocation. Dorothy Richardson (still owed full recognition) and Virginia Woolf did best, in their stress on the interplay between consciousness and the exterior world; but these two delicate novelists of the senses cannot be called, in their last implication, tragic. The salutary value of the exterior, the comfortable sanity of the concrete came to be realised only when the approach of the second World War forced one to envisage wholesale destruction. The obliteration of man's surroundings, streets and houses, tables and chairs sent up, for him, their psychological worth. Up to now, consciousness had been a sheltered product: its interest *as* consciousness diminished now that, at any moment, the physical shelter could be gone.

The second World War halted already-working novelists, and for obvious reasons produced few new ones. Few reputations, however, actually foundered (as had happened between 1914 and 1918). Graham Greene, for instance, and Evelyn Waugh, having begun to be prominent during the thirties, emerged from the war years to become still more so. It is they who have headed the novel's trend towards what might be called moral drama. Independent participants in this move have been Joyce Cary and, in his very different way, L. P. Hartley: both of these were writing before the war, but it would seem that the ensuing decade has given them special focus. Drama involves plot, action; on whatever plane, in whatever sphere—into the present picture, therefore, comes the intellectually-written adventure story, of which Hammond Innes is one exponent. P. H. Newby—like, again, Joyce Cary—is a dramatiser of chacacter; both write about extroverts, domestic or social buccaneers. And one-man character-drama was epitomised in V. S. Pritchett's recent *Mr. Beluncle*—upon which followed the almost simultaneously written *Mr. Christopher* of Thomas Hinde.

Those two novels, in each the father viewed by the son, link up with yet another development: family drama—as, indeed, does the L. P. Hartley *Eustace and Hilda* trilogy. This field, the English seldom desert for long. In the I. Compton Burnett masterpieces, the dialogue keeps shifting veil after veil from obsessions or passions bred by the blood-tie. But the main run of family novels now show a blend of pleasure in idiosyncracy with a far more adverse regard for the institution—the Rosamond Lehmann and Elizabeth Taylor novels exemplify this. Indeed, the attitude to institutions *as* institutions is more clement than it was, say, twenty-five years ago. A sort of aesthetic neo-conservatism may be found to have set in.

That, maybe, is helping to reinstate the social drama novel, which, having suffered eclipse in the twenties, began to make its way back, thanks to Evelyn Waugh, under the guise of burlesque or satire. A pre-1939 sequence of Anthony Powell novels made merry at the expense of coteries: this admirable writer's return, after twelve years' silence, has lately given us the more mellow, retrospective *A Question of Upbringing* and *A Buyer's Market*. Society, as it now provides material, might be described as the pattern formed by any frequentation of persons by one another through affinity or in pursuit of pleasure—dance, cocktail or week-end party, but equally

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the gathering in the pub or attendance at dog racing come under this. Henry Greene, outstanding social novelist and, like I. Compton Burnett, dialogue-expert, illustrates this necessary versatility: his *mise en scène* varies from the Mayfair drawing-room to the castle servants' hall, from the girls' school to the fire station. William Sansom has moved from firemen stories and Kafka allegory to the study of the upper or lower suburban rock pool. Nigel Balchin, master of hard-built plot, personalities the office and the laboratory.

Jocelyn Brooke is to be watched as a roving talent with, as yet, no special territory—he has, if anything, a semi-hostile addiction to type, as shown by his *Passing of a Hero.* Rex Warner continues to combine tautness with poetic distinction. Philip Toynbee is, of the younger group, probably the most interesting to his fellow-novelists: his *A Garden by the Sea* has been a controversial high point of this English summer. Thomas Hinde, so far still a one-book man, and Emma Smith, who impacted with *The Far Cry,* seem so far to have no serious rivals among their young contemporaries.

At the moment, it is the political novel which is in eclipse. The ideological novel also is infrequent. As a general verdict, it might be fair to say that English fiction at present is at its most English: as an export, its value should rightly reside in that. A good deal may be felt to be germinating during this phase of apparent self-regard. What will have come of this, say, in ten years' time? Ideally, the exhibition should not open before then.

MUSIC IN ENGLAND

by Norman Demuth

THE MUSICAL SITUATION in England is dominated by the universally revered figure of Ralph Vaughan Williams, who, at the age of eight-one, continues in the flood of creative activity, each work in succession revealing some new facet of that fundamentally English idiom which he re-discovered and restored as a common language in his *Pastoral Symphony*, composed in 1922. From him stems a school of composers whose style is English as distinct from British and who have been influenced by no other culture. The other veterans, Joseph Holbrooke and Rutland Boughton (both born in 1878) and Cyril Scott and John Ireland (both born in 1879) rarely appear with new works. Holbrooke has announced that he will compose no more, having contributed an enormous number of works of all sizes to the repertoire, including three monumental operas; it was he who first championed the cause of the native composer in the early part of the century. Boughton nearly found an English expression in his Arthurian operas, but they came too soon and national operatic potentialities had not become realised. Scott in the first decade of the century was using harmonies hitherto unthought of in this country. By the 'twenties every composer was writing them. It is not generally realised that modern music owes a tremendous debt to this composer, and that it was he who set the ball rolling here towards a complete emancipation from traditional academicism.

Ireland, however, is a little different. His piano pieces, sonatas, songs, and his choral work *These Things Shall Be* are frequently performed and his influence exercises itself indirectly and quietly. His style has thinned out, but the old vigour, freshness, and poetry remain. He has always been an imaginative composer.

Imagination of another kind is the guiding factor in the work of Sir Arnold Bax. His symphonies and symphonic poems are impelled by picturesque Celtic folk-lore. Although at one time rated as exceedingly difficult, they now offer no insuperable difficulties to either performers or listeners. This charge of difficulty dies hard in England, and it is too often offered as an excuse for neglect. Bax has a following, but no followers; this is a pity, for English music could do with a leaven of his poetic imagination and picturesque writing.

The English School includes such names as Armstrong Gibbs, Gordon Jacob, and Herbert Howells among the older, and Gerald Finzi, Edmund Rubbra, and Michael Tippett among the younger. Armstrong Gibbs has composed innumerable songs of fine quality, and his Symphony for voices and orchestra, *Odysseus*, is a magnificent work. His chamber music is worthy to rank with all comers. Gibbs' technique adds strength to the dangerous tendency of the English idom to be flaccid and vague. Gordon Jacob's music is intensely scholarly in the best sense. It is rather overbreezy, but is well-balanced. His powers to move his listeners are not as great as those of Herbert Howells, whose *Hymnus Paradisi* is one of the loveliest things of the century. His organ Psalm-Preludes and Rhapsodies are fine original works; they trace their technique from their composer's teacher, Stanford, but their language is strikingly individual. Howells' Rhapsodic Quintet is as fresh today as when it was written (1919) because, like all his other works, it lacks mannerisms.

Of the three younger composers, Edmund Rubbra is a natural symphonist with all the stuff of symphonic continuity and musical scholarship behind it. His works have a strength and stability which is absent from those of Michael Tippett, whose basic polyphony has no sinews and consequently lacks stamina. Tippett's *Concerto for Double String Orchestra* and *Symphony in A* have made an impression in certain quarters, but he is more likely to live with *Child of Our Time*, which is finely written, and is an outstanding landmark in the English choral tradition. The art of Gerald Finzi is altogether smaller and consequently has a more limited public; Finzi's settings of Shakespeare and Hardy add a great deal to English song. Of these composers, it is he who most nearly approaches the Vaughan Williams aesthetic.

The composers who do not subscribe to the pure English idiom and are, therefore, "British" are headed by Sir Arthur Bliss, whose opera *The Olympians* was the first native work to be produced after the War at Covent Garden. Many unkind things were said about it by the quidnuncs, but the public liked its honesty and sincerity. These characterise all Bliss' music, and his personality.

Opinion varies to to whether the example of Sir William Walton or that of Benjamin Britten leads the younger generation. Walton is much the elder of the two, but his catalogue is infinitely smaller; he takes his time over each work and is not in a hurry for it to be performed. He constantly revises his scores, but this should not give the impression that he is uncertain in his touch; it simply means that he prefers other ways of saying things. It is significant

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that none of his works has fallen into neglect, and each one makes regular and frequent appearances. Those who have heard what he has completed of his new opera are loud in their praises of it, suggesting that it may prove to be the great English opera of the century. Its production is awaited with interest—it is perfectly certain that he will not hurry over it.

Opinion on Benjamin Britten falls into three categories—those who think that everything he writes is a masterpiece, those who see little merit in his music and consider its value grossly exaggerated, and, more reasonably, those who take the middle course, regretting the operas, except *Peter Grimes,* but admiring the composer's undoubted gifts in the smaller realms of choral and chamber music. It is felt by some that Britten wrote himself out operatically with *Peter Grimes* and that the later operas strive after some kind of new expression but fail to find it. Britten has extraordinary facility.

Arnold Cooke is one of the few English pupils of Hindemith. His style is solid and workmanlike, classically impelled, and often inspiring. Similar strength is found in Alan Rawsthorne who shows a curious affinity with Roussel; of this he is probably quite unconscious.

Alan Bush, though once a tough nut to crack, has simplified his style so that his music is now immediately approachable. His *Nottingham Symphony* is most open-handed and attractive, provided one forgets the early works such as the Concert Piece for cello and piano and the String Quartet, *Dialectic.*

Direct foreign influence has been felt by three composers of widely divergent points of view—Alec Rowley, Lennox Berkeley, and Humphrey Searle. Rowley, the oldest of the three, and Berkeley absorbed the Gallic qualities of lightness and clarity. Of the two, Berkeley is the more advanced and perhaps the more personal. Searle is one of the followers of systematic composition. In his *Put Away the Flutes* and *Gold Coast Customs* he showed that he had found the secret of superimposing emotional feeling upon an otherwise arid system of pure mathematics. Few English composers practice this systematic composition.

Most young composers today begin where others have left off, and it is almost the rule now that a newcomer should herald his arrival with a symphony; this usually leads post-haste to a second such work and this, impelled by a mind that has had no time to restock and re-fuel itself, is more often than not below the standard of the first. The symphonies of Peter Racine Fricker have substance, are extremely powerful, and are well thought out; but they are uniformly gloomy and pessimistic. There is nothing wrong in this outlook if the composer really feels like it, but it sometimes happens that depression is mistaken for profundity. Similar works by John Gardner, Richard Arnel, Daniel Jones, William Wordsworth, and William Alwyn (an expert film composer and considerably older than the others) adopt a different attitude and if they do not say anything particularly new (one particularly over-emotionalised work puts the clock back considerably, but is none the less popular for that) they are well-varied. Gardner and Jones are the most advanced—there are few signs that the young English composers have any wish to ruffle the placid waters of English music-making, although the music of Malcolm Arnold suggests that here is a slightly turbulent spirit.

Operas are composed by the score, but few are chosen. Arthur Benjamin's *A Tale of Two Cities* contained all the stuff of opera and was dramatically well-pointed. Benjamin allows the singers to *sing.* It has received radio performances, but so far has not seen the footlights. Alan Bush had to go to Germany for the production of his *Wat Tyler.* In spite of competitions and the commissioning of operas from composers, nothing permanent has appeared so far, and the question arises as to the value of these prizes and commissions when no arrangements are made for production. It is to be feared that realisation of and admiration for British Opera are paper- and lip-service only.

Of the foreigners who have become British subjects, Roberto Gerhard has a pretty knack in opera and Egon Wellesz is a real scholar as well as being a composer of the highest integrity.

Space forbids more than mention of other names, each of whom can be found from time to time in concert and radio programmes—Bernard Stevens, Adrian Cruft, Benjamin Frankel, Denis Aplvor, Anthony Hopkins, Jan Parrott, John Addison, Elizabeth Maconchy, Grace Williams, Elizabeth Lutyens, Ruth Gipps, Matyas Seiber and Franz Reizenstein.

The Composers' Guild of Great Britain works strenuously to promote the cause of native composers in a perfectly and necessarily objective manner, receiving sympathetic co-operation from orchestras and performers. The situation is intensely active and music is pouring out in quantities as never before. The race for fame and survival promises to continue indefinitely. However, it is time that England produced the really great *universal* work that will rank in importance with *Le Sacre du Printemps, Wozzeck* and Oliver Messiaen's *Turangalila Symphony.*

THE CONFIDENTIAL CLERK

by Philip Mairet

IF T. S. ELIOT's new play, *The Confidential Clerk*, can be placed in a category, it is an essay in the higher melodrama. Can it be that a poet, tired of being told that his drama lacked theatrical construction, determined at last to show what he *could* do? True, this piece is in the same tragi-comic vein as the last. But in *The Cocktail Party* the theme was the subjective effects of secret love affairs upon individuals. The present play deals with the offspring of such liaisons, and with the delayed effects upon their parents. It points a social, not a transcendent, moral. The plot hinges upon no less than three cases of bastardy that have occurred in the same family about a quarter of a century before the curtain rises. Anyone, a critic may retort, could make a plot out of such a packet of mysterious origins. Perhaps; though not one as ingenious as Eliot has contrived, nor fraught with as much *meaning.* The drawback of having to deal with such a wildly improbable complication as he has presupposed lies not so much in its artificiality as in keeping his comedy of manners too near the verge of melodrama. Three acts of continuous "discovery scenes" of long lost parents and children is a stiff dose. The deserved celebrity of the previous play may cast an invidious shadow over this one. But comparisons are odious; this is rich en-

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tertainment, and a tract for the times.

Sir Claud Mulhammer is a successful financier, the son of a financial genius, but is childless by a wife who is a lady in her own right. Both have sons by former lovers, and Sir Claud is scheming to induce his wife to adopt his son, of whose existence he has not told her. She knows, however, about his illegitimate daughter by another mistress of much less cherished memory; and he knows that his Lady Elizabeth had a son, of whom she had lost track in infancy, ever since her lover died in Africa. Sir Claud's confidential clerk, who is retiring, is to be replaced by the illegitimate son Colby, as an initiation into his father's household and profession. The hope is that Lady Elizabeth will acquire a maternal interest in this highly presentable and well-educated young man. She does so with a vengeance. A veiled remark of Colby's about his foster-mother's name and address leads her to believe, too precipitately, that he is *her* son; and she and her husband are contending for the parenthood of the boy until the final *dénouement*.

The play exploits all the possibilities of this situation, which is further complicated by the presence of Lucasta, the illicit daughter. Sir Claud hopes to see her married to a young financial colleague, the bumptious Kaghan, who had good foster parents and is not in the least sensitive about his foundling origin. An intimate understanding begins to develop between Colby and Lucasta, cut short by a violent misunderstanding as soon as she confides in him the secret of her birth. There is no lack of plot and counterplot; if anything rather too much; there is wit enough, too, and very genial comedy in the character of the old confidential clerk. But the sustaining interest is in the psychology of the filial and parental relationships. No doubt the author is concerned to show, to a generation visibly in danger of emotional disintegration, how essential and fundamental are the bonds between parent and child; but he does this without resort to any of the more obviously evil consequences. None of the illegitimates develop badly; there is no delinquency on their part, nor hatred on the part of the parents. On the contrary, the parents suffer from frustrated desire for the children they once disowned; and suffer most of all when they discover that all their efforts for the good of their secret progeny have failed to repair the broken bond. This cannot be a one-way relation, as Colby points out to his father. As Ibsen said of another relationship; you may patch a fiddle but you can't mend a bell.

What about the poetry? No one will recognise it as verse until he sees it in print. There, I suspect, he may have the experience of finding it easier to read than prose. It is a logical continuation on the way Eliot's verse has been going since he took to play-writing. In *The Cocktail Party* there were still some few purple patches which everyone knew were poetry; in this piece there are none. All the same, this is a master's use of the every day vernacular. When the characters explain what is in the depths of their minds—which they have to do rather often—the subtlety comes over with consummate clarity.

The performance is near perfection, and may attain it with the suppleness that grows upon practice, for the artists evidently believe in what they are doing. Paul Rogers gives a moving portrait of the financier; Margaret Leighton's Lucasta is most effective in her most emotional moments; Isabel Jeans' Lady Elizabeth delighted the audience, and so did the discreetly amiable old confidential clerk of Alan Webb. A first night at this festival may not be a representative audience; but their reception suggests that the play will please a wider audience. It will certainly not disappoint those who can rise to its philosophy.

THE BRITISH FILM: PHONETICS, *FUMED OAK*, AND FUN

by Parker Tyler

ENGLAND made *Breaking Through the Sound Barrier*, as good a scientific thriller as modern filmic times have produced. Is it a coincidence that it has to do with the dynamics of sound? Perhaps not. The fusion of effective diction with an optimistic version of reality seems the peculiar documentary-fictitious realm in which Great Britain excels all other nations. During the 'thirties, it was Britain which gave most imagination, technical skill and seriousness of purpose to the Documentary Film, and the impetus of that period of full activity is still felt. *Cavalcade, In Which We Serve*, and *This Happy Breed*, were epic-sized films from England, stating—with an obvious desire not to overstate—the historic patriotism of a people. The element of an imaginative or fictitious art there emerged as of lesser importance in favor of what might be termed The Record. A full-fledged fiction is more or less "off the record" in England; that is, not to be taken too seriously. For example, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, a film lately received locally with much gratitude from the epicures of high comedy, has the elegance, airiness, and hieratic assurance of a court masque.

There are, however, two ways to take the highly stylized humors of *The Importance:* hermetically and not so hermetically. If the life of joy and fancy can be expressed completely by Gilbert and Sullivan, Wilde's great bagatelle should seem but a rather esoteric nuance of that very tuneful philosophy. Like *Patience*, it proves specifically that the English have a faculty for heavenly fun with a perfect talent for self-portraiture. But in the modern world (and what can remind us better that we are in the modern world than the three films mentioned above?), *The Importance* becomes a socially delimited conceit. Noel Coward's trio, *Tonight at 8:30*, has come along to prove that an equal linguistic and phonetic competence, several rungs down on the social ladder, reveals the other side of the comic coin; which is to say that the faculty cited above is equally utile for *horrible* fun.

It is the second part of Coward's film, *Fumed Oak*, that exhibits this repellent triumph. Could any other nation, indeed, find a truth so horrible productive of so much amusement and so permissive of an objective craft to render it? Coward has been as tireless among lower middle-class clichés, unconverted by wit and imagination, as Wilde among upper-class clichés, converted by wit and imagination. The imaginative element in *Fumed Oak* is the moral revolt of a middle-aged floorwalker who takes unholy joy, before chucking everything and leaving for the South Seas, in telling off brutally his family of three—wife, mother-in-law, and daughter—because for seventeen years he has been persecuted by their phonetic powers. His unforeseen forensics effectually quells them, making the better part of the piece one long curtain-line and producing in the hearer a sort of goose-flesh of mirth. *Fumed Oak* might be called a paradigm of what may

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suddenly happen to the vulgar and the vulgate if nothing has happened to them for seventeen years. Of course, a war may "happen" and serve the same purpose as the middle-aged floorwalker's long-nourished vision of freedom in Noa-Noa Land. (At any rate, the "sound barrier" is broken!)

A Queen Is Crowned, aside from cheering, marching music, and the documentary convention of oral commentary, is notable for its phonetic austerity and verbal sparseness. Its main event is the most solemn public spectacle of our time and properly prodigious in a nation which produced such a court satire as *The Mikado* and such a vision of the Peers as that in *Iolanthe*, The Coronation, however, is *The Record*. The modern English temper has followed its documentary bent by also producing on film a court romance about the first Elizabeth of England, featuring her speculative ("off the record") romance with Admiral Thomas Seymour. This is *Young Bess*, an officially lavish and perfectly mediocre item, whose high distinction remains, alone, a full-fledged diction.

Do Americans tend to overstress the aesthetic, not to say also the social, importance of British speech? It would be natural in a nation whose parent stem is chiefly England, from which its social standards, its manners of all kinds, largely derive. The beauty of that speech achieves a dominant, however "insular," place in Shakespearian films as though it were one of Prospero's magics. British film productions of Shakespeare have seemed to this witness to leave much to be desired. British accent and British diction almost, but not quite, saved the current American-made *Julius Caesar* from artistic mediocrity. The case is that, in international films, the only prime excellence of England, artistically speaking, is the craft of speech. This is true despite such superlative and steady film performers as Laurence Olivier, Margaret Rutherford, and Alec Guinness. As I mean "performers" rather than actors, I mean "personalities" rather than artists.

Phonetics all to one side, the meat of an art is the whole conception. The retreat of a set of stage-film actors in America, led by Charles Laughton, to "drama quartets" may be interpreted as a revolt against the boredom imposed by inferior material on actors with British speech standards. Quite natural, of course; and quite natural that the voice should be the instrument on which predominant reliance is placed: vocality in a *decent* setting. There is no vocal institution to retreat to in America, such as Racine and Corneille in France, for Shakespeare is not an *institution* on our own stage. I have heard a great deal of Olivier's voice, both in American and English films. Capable of humorous as well as pathetic inflections, that voice has often been a pleasure to listen to; it has even made me inattentive to what was being said. Sir Laurence's speaking of the narration for *A Queen Is Crowned* is in every way satisfactory. It is more than satisfactory when he gives vent to his final "God Save the Queen!" These words are said with the fervor of a living knight. They are not shouted or choked-up; they are not "emotional." They are dramatically articulated speech and clearly above the commonplace level to which the camera was rigorously limited here as a representative agent. People have found moving images in *A Queen Is Crowned* but I think that these must have been entirely connotative and not due to any cunning of the plastic imagination, either in the ceremony itself or the way it was photographed. The Coronation was an occasion when actions, as words, were strictly prescribed, their force not being subject to modes of representation and hence not being "aesthetic."

ENGLISH THEATRE: A BUDDING TRADITION

by William Becker

THE SINGLE outstanding development of the post-war period in British theatre has been the tentative emergence of what may yet prove to be a fully operative traditionalism. Such an observation is likely to surprise some Americans. For one often hears in this country, both from Anglophiles and from apologists for Broadway, that the supposed superiority of the British theatre to our own is entirely due to British "traditions." But the fact is that England's is still the least "traditional" (in a functional sense) of any important theatrical culture in Europe: it operates, on the whole, much like ours, with precious few opportunities for workers in the theatre to feel themselves part of an enabling theatrical continuum. Nothing in England, until Stratford, could even have borne comparison to a really traditional theatre like the Comédie Française. And it is important to remember that neither Stratford nor the Old Vic ever had more than a token existence before their post-war reformations suddenly brought them into international prominence.

Today the achievements of the post-war period look considerable, though the situation remains tentative and unstable—especially at the Old Vic, whose history over the past few years has reaffirmed the evident fact that institutions, at least until they become the agencies of a traditional discipline, are no better than the people who run them. Two years ago, in a fantastic tangle of viciousness, stupidity, and opportunism—all woven into complex intrigues of truly Machiavellian proportions—the Old Vic was nearly destroyed. An interfering Board of Governors, animated by its Chairman, Viscount Esher, was ultimately at fault; but the showdown was precipitated by a bureaucrat named Llewellyn Rees, with the result that everybody of purpose and talent resigned, and the Vic was left in the hands of a young director named Hugh Hunt. In the process, a long-term plan, devised by the triumvirate of brilliant and dedicated men who were forced out—George Devine, Glen Byam Shaw, and Michel St. Denis—and involving a national theatre, a school, an experimental theatre, and a traveling company, was abandoned. With it temporarily went all hope of an organic development which could ultimately have assured a traditional existence to the Old Vic's operations. Meanwhile, the past two seasons, under the directionless guidance of Hunt, have been disastrous. The *Henry VIII* there was a run-down, recast version of a production originally done by Tyrone Guthrie for Stratford. It was unspeakable; and its general atmosphere of orphaned poverty seemed to depict the Old Vic's present condition with perfect accuracy. Now, however, the Old Vic is about to undergo a new reorganization: Hunt is being replaced by Michael Benthall, a director of taste and ability, though occasionally given in the past to heavy-handedness and over-decoration; and it has been announced that, during the next five years, the company will perform all of Shakespeare's plays

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in turn on a single stationary set. That, at least, sounds like the kind of fundamental groundwork on which a traditional theatre might be erected; and one only regrets that so completely fresh a start became necessary at all. The function of an institution is to turn history into tradition; Mr. Hunt's administration presided over the reversal of that process.

Stratford is an entirely different story. Privately supported (this year it will show a considerable profit) and unhampered by professional committee-sitters, it has developed steadily into an institution of the very first rank. It owes this development largely to the administrative genius of its Director, Anthony Quayle, who, after John Gielgud, is probably the most valuable single individual now at work in the British theatre. Quayle is an *homme de théâtre* in the fullest sense—a gifted and extraordinarily versatile actor, a perceptive and responsible director. His mind is keen, if not brilliant, and he has a special faculty for knowing how and when to use everyone of the superior theatrical talents in England. Stratford, unlike the Comédie Française, is broadly eclectic: the individual productions have varied greatly in quality and tone, and one cannot speak of a "Stratford style." Yet the recent ones, even at their least inspired, have all seemed to share a clarity of statement and a sensible respect for the text—and these, of course, may be the first indications of that inherent discipline which is the hall-mark of genuine traditionalism.

What I saw of this year's season at Stratford did not impress me in anything like the degree that the season of 1951 did. The 1951 productions of the historical tetralogy *(Richard II* through *Henry V),* directed by Quayle, with their consummate attention to the meaning of the action in its total political context, were unquestionably the best Shakespeare productions I have ever seen. Nonetheless, there were deep satisfactions to be had this year, too. For me, the greatest were Harry Andrews's performances—as *The Merchant of Venice,* as Enobarbus in *Anthony and Cleopatra,* as Buckingham in *Richard III.* Andrews is one of the few actors who can truthfully be called a "product" of Stratford: over the past five seasons, he has developed from a quite ordinary talent into one of the most useful Shakespearean actors in England. Such a development is obviously the chief thing that a functioning traditionalism can promote; and Harry Andrews' career may be a more generally hopeful sign than anyone yet realizes. So powerful a stage personality has he become that Marius Goring's competent but uninspired performance as Richard III was thrown quite out of perspective, so that the play often seemed to be more about a king-maker than a king. And the superiority of Andrews' Stratford Enobarbus to the performance he gave in that role for the Oliviers two years ago was surely no accident. So long as Stratford cannot or will not maintain a single permanent company like the Comédie Française, a career like Harry Andrews' is likely to remain exceptional, and a full traditionalism is not likely to be achieved. Meanwhile, however, it would be ungrateful to carp: Stratford is far and away the best English-speaking theatre that exists.

CORRECTION

We regret that in last week's issue of *New Republic* the prices of the books advertised below were listed erroneously.

TWO GREAT BOOKS by GIOVANNI VERGA

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Notes on the Critics

ELIZABETH BOWEN is at her home in Ireland completing a new novel. NORMAN DEMUTH, British composer and critic, is writing a new book on contemporary music. PHILIP MAIRET was, for many years, editor of *The New English Weekly.* PARKER TYLER'S play *The Screen* was recently performed in New York. WILLIAM BECKER contributes theatre criticism to *NR* and other magazines. These articles will be followed by essays on the several arts in Italy and Germany.

THE RECORD REVIEW

CANTATA NUMBER 76, by J. S. Bach (Westminster).

THE ORIGINAL EDITORS of Bach's works chose to group the two-hundred-odd cantatas in terms of their original functions in the liturgical year and to number them accordingly; because of this, the number never indicates the position of the cantata chronologically. Number 76 *("Die Himmel Erzaehlen")* is, in fact, one of the earliest of the Leipzig cantatas. It was first performed in 1723, two years after the *Brandenburg Concerti* were written, one year after the completion of the first book of the *Well-tempered Clavier,* and a few weeks before Bach's thirty-eighth birthday.

Aside from the purely musical virtues of the work, it is a historical curiosity, initiating as it does Bach's career as a church composer. It is a much more ambitious work than most of the cantatas for ordinary Sundays were destined to be; Bach later complained that Leipzig neither desired works of this magnitude nor provided the resources for performing them. This early cantata demands a quite varied instrumental ensemble and four expert coloratura soloists. The choral writing, of which there is very little, is curiously simple, and all the entrances are painstakingly cued. Aside from these two discrepancies, the Bach cantata style seems to have sprung into being mature and fully clothed. The expressive recitatives, the ornate arias, the brilliant instrumental interludes are stylistically the same as those that Bach wrote fifteen years later.

The present recording, conducted by Fritz Scherchen with fine soloists and what must be a small group taken from the Vienna State Opera orchestra, is excellent in almost every respect.

SONATAS NUMBERS 26 AND 29, by Ludwig van Beethoven (RCA Victor).

Solomon's performance of Beethoven's late sonatas may save those sacrosanct works from the tomb which virtually every German pianist, from von Bülow to Schnabel, has been building for them. In this recording, he gives the familiar Sonata Number 26 *(Les Adieux)* a virility and vigor which strip away the customary sentimentality.

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Number 29, the *Hammerklavier* (an orchestral transcription of it was reviewed in the August 10 issue of this magazine), sounds better than I have ever heard it, and takes about fifteen minutes less time. It is to be piously hoped that Solomon's magnificent interpretations of these works can establish a new and more valid tradition for their performance.

FOUR SKETCHES; CANON IN B MINOR, by Robert Schumann; ORGAN SONATA NUMBER 2, by Felix Mendelssohn (MGM).

This recording is much superior in point of clarity to the usual organ recording. The Schumann *Sketches*, originally composed for the now extinct *Pedalklavier*, are undistinguished but attractive pieces, reminiscent of the *Novelettes*, and easily adapted to the organ. The Mendelssohn sonata, though grander in its conception than in its execution, is a lovely work, and a reminder that we neglect too much of the music of that expert composer. All of the pieces are played in a colorful style by Richard Ellsasser.

SYMPHONY IN A-FLAT MAJOR, by Sir Edward Elgar (RCA Victor).

It was Elgar's misfortune, historically, to follow the late romantics and to precede the other early moderns. His music suffers badly by comparison with both, particularly in extended works such as this very well made old-fashioned symphony; in this recording, it is played for all it is worth by the London Philharmonic under the direction of Sir Adrian Boult.

SONATAS FOR HARPSICHORD, by Domenico Scarlatti (Westminster).

Westminster has just issued the fifth volume of a series of Scarlatti Sonatas, performed by Fernando Valenti. Valenti's playing is always extremely coloristic and tends to make the harpischord sound big. When a harpsichord is forced to produce a large tone it rumbles and snarls and the action of the instrument makes a disagreeable sound, as if it were some extravagant Rube Goldberg noise-making contrivance. Mr. Valenti's Scarlatti, accurate and carefully planned as it is, too often produces this effect. Admirers of the romanticized Baroque, however, will find this rather better than their accustomed fare.

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From Our Readers

► The *NR*—Four Views

I was deeply chagrined to note in the "Washington Wire" (*NR*, August 3) a favorable comment on Governor Dewey to the effect that on the Niagara power issue he was on the "side of the angels."

I am only too well aware of the slick job the Governor must have done but if you will refer to pages 11240 through 11243 of the *Congressional Record* of August 3, you will see that Sen. Herbert Lehman demolishes Mr. Dewey's testimony point by point. Mr. Dewey favors a give-away but not as brazen a one as the outright grant of the Capehart-Miller bill. His scheme has a bit more sleight of hand to it, but it achieves the same result.

I must also admit myself confounded to have the *New Republic* label Mr. Dewey as a "magnificent administrator." Under Dewey's administration, the state budget has jumped from $460 million to $1.129 billion. The number of state employees have doubled, and under Dewey, the state debt has reached its highest point in the state's history.

At the same time, the magnificent housing program launched by Lehman has come to a standstill.

Eighty-five percent of our schools have sites below recommended size and our school buildings themselves are largely obsolete. Our state hospitals are overcrowded and understaffed. Typical is the situation in our mental hygiene institutions where one physician is responsible for the care and treatment of 160 patients.

These are but a few typical examples of the "magnificent" administration Governor Dewey has given the state of New York.

I address this communication to you only because of my distress at seeing the *New Republic* deceived by the slick politician in Albany.

RICHARD H. BALCH
Chairman, N. Y. State Democratic Committee
New York City

ONLY 79 MORE SHOPPING DAYS 'TIL CHRISTMAS

This year give NEW REPUBLIC

I had hoped that the *New Republic* would serve as a journal of independent intelligence under the new Administration. Instead you seem to blindly follow Stevenson and blindly criticize our President. The *NR* is little more than a Democratic sheet.

San Francisco, Calif. MRS. W. R. OLIVER

Congratulations on your brow-beating of Syngman Rhee, Joe McCarthy and other anti-Communists. You should make yourselves popular over in Europe, with the Park Avenue plutocrats, UN parasites and Eleanor Roosevelt's hate-America campaign.

It must be very profitable to produce so much drivel to insult the intelligence of the average American. All you have to do to get fat as a Wall Streeter now is write some good essays defending the Korean War prisoners who went "progressive." Your stock in trade seems to be defending traitors, so you should have a field day with your pals, the "progressives." . . .

I am writing you, however, to remind you that there is one of your readers who says there ain't no such animal as what you call "liberalism."

Clinton, Iowa JAMES A. BRYANT

Please cancel by subscription effective immediately. . . .

It used to be that when I wanted the latest pronouncements of our reactionary, pro-war, anti-civil liberties business and government groups I sought a Hearst newspaper. Now I need only to pick up a *New Republic* to get the same distorted and lying propaganda. . . .

In a hundred ways you show you have sold out to the reactionary element in this country. Your blind, cowardly and unmerciful acceptance of the guilt of the Rosenbergs was too disgusting for words.

I suggest you read *The Nation* more frequently if you would care to obtain a mental picture of a truly liberal magazine.

Santa Barbara, Calif. JOHN W. DICKINSON

► Adlai Stevenson

Your August 31 issue articles on the problems of the Democratic Party which confront Adlai Stevenson should restimulate laggards into action.

Maybe some comment on how Californians have begun working out the problem of making the professional and amateur efforts into a strong co-operative unit would interest readers. We certainly would be fascinated to read about any other kind of programs developed elsewhere.

The plan developed because clubs continue to organize at a rate of about one a month per county, one at least in every town and each city district. Because California is primarily rural, the small group club started, and the urban areas have found the pattern helpful for reaching real neighborhood areas.

Out of Santa Clara County (at the south end of San Francisco Bay) came a plan for organizing these units not only for joint co-operation with one another, but with the professionals. At the conference in Stockton in May, for counties in the northern part of the state, this plan was urged for all the state, and in June the southern counties agreed to give it a try.

The plan provides for a county council which is composed of representative delegations from each club plus specified county officials (county chairman, former primary winners, leaders of supervisorial districts) which can be varied according to each county's desires. In one county three members of the county committee are on the executive board of this group, in another the professionals stated they felt they should not hold such offices, merely participate in county-wide meetings. Thus the whole thing is kept flexible.

The purpose is not only to co-ordinate, but to build respect for one another. Dem-

(Continued on page 23)

Bandwagon

Under-Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith defended here tonight the conduct of American foreign policy and credited Secretary of State John Foster Dulles with "victories that cannot be advertised until long after the event." He declared that "already these successes have been significant."

The Army General, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, asserted that no line of foreign policy could succeed unless the American people were informed of it, "have a clear understanding of it and out of their knowledge and free will support it." — *From the New York* Times, *September 6, 1953.*

The proof that the Communists are supporting the Mayor [Vincent Impellitteri], Mr. [Robert F.] Wagner said, was their public statements that they are against him. — *From the New York* Times, *September 4, 1953.*

Without stating a reason for its action, the convention approved a report saying "we are unalterably opposed to the Consumers Union and its publication, *Consumers Report.*" — *American Legion Convention, as reported by the A.P., September 3, 1953.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* — THE EDITORS.

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To Our Readers

At luncheon, a group of Republicans and myself picked our favorite choice for the new Supreme Court Justice. We all chose the same man—John Foster Dulles, and for the same reason.

The Secretary has traveled across 20 nations that never saw hide nor hair of Acheson. It doesn't do any good. In England an official said to me in July: "No matter how badly things went for the West after the war, we always held one trump card. We would quarrel among ourselves and alienate everyone else until there seemed to be no hope—and then Molotov would open his big mouth!" He sighed: "We had Molotov . . . now they have Dulles."

* * *

Waiting in the anteroom of a State Department official, I came across this editorial in the September *Foreign Service Journal:*

Thinking the other day of questions put to government officials by interviewing security investigators such as questions inviting avowals of hatred for our country's enemies, we remembered Shakespeare's *King Lear.* We remembered the test that the old King devised for the loyalty of his daughters. He asked each how much she loved him. Those unmitigated villaineses Goneril and Regan protested their loyalty and devotion to the skies while their truly loyal sister could find nothing to say. Love and patriotism are among the emotions for which honest men instinctively reserve a degree of privacy.

How well, after all, Shakespeare understood these matters.

* * *

To go on with our survey, we asked:

What other magazines do you regularly read?

The *New Yorker* ranked first, with 40 percent; *Harpers* is read by 38 percent; *Time,* 33 percent; *The Reporter,* 30 percent; the *Atlantic Monthly,* 29 percent; *The Nation,* 24 percent; *Newsweek,* 17 percent; *The Progressive,* 10 percent; *Business Week;* 8 percent.

How many hard-cover books do you buy each year?

Over three percent answered: *More than 50;* 10 percent answered: *between 25 and 50;* 33 percent, between *10 and 25;* 46 percent, between *1 and 10.*

What type of book do you most enjoy?

Novels were the first choice of the largest single group—23 percent. The cumulative totals yielded in order: politics; history; social problems; biography; novels; foreign affairs; philosophy; economics mysteries; modern poetry; how to do it; child care.

M. S.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 22)

ocrats have no money in our state, so manpower is vital and we cannot afford to waste it in over-lapping effort. As a policy-making group, the county council also helps bring in both those who distrust professionals and those who believe we ought to strive for united effort even if dislike arises.

The plan is flexible in other ways. One aim is to put a club into every town in the state. In one county the council put up the cash to hire a professional organizer whose interest is in management, promotion and not a public-office career for himself. In another county the earnest hard-working county committee precinct chairman is being given a trial with support behind him to try to form more clubs.

Today, where before each county at most had one limping club—some with none—there are 400 clubs throughout the state. By law they must, if they use the official party name, be recognized by the party officials. As I understand it, they have to have about 20 to 25 members to be a club officially, and a county must have three clubs to begin a council. If you consider some clubs have more members than the base requirement, and do some multiplication, you can see that the Democratic Party in California has indeed waked up.

These clubs have been formed almost entirely by amateurs. The impetus is directly from the Stevensonians who took his credo literally—government is no better than the people who get into it.

We give our gratitude generously to our state chairman, George Miller Jr., who instead of blocking the amateurs helped us by encouraging such efforts. But we feel even if he had blocked us, too many people were determined to make the Democratic Party effective in this state for him to have done more than delay what has happened. Many pros say it is the sort of thing they have dreamed of for years.

We do not know about the rest of the nation—but in California at least, come 1956, Adlai Stevenson can at the least count on a fair hearing at the National Convention for he started us off into activities we find rewarding.

Menlo Park, Calif. K. D. EDWARDS

MAGAZINES

"HOW TO BE SANE THOUGH NEGRO"—lead article on psychology of minority groups in current issue of *ETC.,* official quarterly journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write *Etc,* Dept. 22, 539 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

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LAURA Z. HOBSON in SATURDAY REVIEW, AUG. 8, 1953

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